

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RO, US

SUBJ: CEAUSESCU VISIT: SUGGESTIONS FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT

REF: STATE 132584

1. IN VIEW OF TIME AVAILABLE FOR MEETING I THINK THAT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN TWO PRESIDENTS MIGHT BEST, FROM OUR STANDPOINT, FOCUS ON FOLLOWING TOPICS: TRADE AGREEMENT, MIDDLE EAST, ROMANIAN-SOVIET-CHINESE RELATIONS, CSCE, POST-VIETNAM US STRATEGY (INCLUDING KOREA), AND RELATIONS BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THESE ARE ALL AREAS OF MAJOR INTEREST TO CEAUSESCU AND ARE DISCUSSED BRIEFLY BELOW AND I CAN SUPPLEMENT DURING MY CONSULTATIONS.

2. TRADE AGREEMENT. CEAUSESCU'S KEY BILATERAL CONCERN WILL BE FATE OF TRADE AGREEMENT. I ASSUME HE WILL HAVE BEEN BRIEFED REGARDING SOMEWHAT MIXED IMPRESSIONS OF RECENTLY-RETURNED ROMANIAN DELEGATION TO JOINT ECONOMIC COUNCIL MEETING BASED ON DELEGATION'S TALKS WITH TEN CONGRESSMEN (INCLUDING SENATOR JACKSON AND REP. GREEN). HE MAY ALSO HARBOR SOME DOUBTS ABOUT ADMINISTRATION'S MOTIVATION IN SEEKING DELAY OF SENATE FINANCE HEARINGS OF WHICH DELEGATION WAS TOLD, SINCE HE PROBABLY ASSUMES THAT MOST MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WOULD VOTE FOR THE BILL IF GIVEN THE CHANCE AND IF THE ADMINISTRATION KEPT PUSHING. WE SHOULD GIVE CEAUSESCU CANDID APPRAISAL OF CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL PROSPECTS IN LIGHT OF ROMANIAN PERFORMANCE SO FAR, STRESSING BOTH ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT TO PASSAGE BUT
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NECESSITY OF CONCRETE PROGRESS AS EVIDENCED BY ACTUAL DEPARTURES.

3. MIDDLE EAST. CEAUSESCU IS LIKELY BRING UP BOTH HIS OWN AND THE PRESIDENT'S RECENT MIDDLE EAST DISCUSSIONS ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THE US CONTINUING REASSESSMENT OF POLICY. CEAUSESCU HAS IN THE LAST MONTH AND A HALF, CONFERRED WITH THE LEADERS OF JORDAN, EGYPT, SYRIA, AND TUNISIA AND WITH ARAFAT, WHILE PLAYING HOST TO ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON AND IRAQI DEPUTY CHAIRMAN SADDAM HUSAYN. AS PART OF OFT PROCLAIMED ROMANIAN SUPPORT FOR ANY "PRACTICAL" METHOD WHICH ADVANCES CHANCES FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION, CEAUSESCU MAY RAISE GOR'S DESIRE FOR A SEAT AT A RENEWED GENEVA CONFERENCE, AS WELL AS URGE GREATER US FLEXIBILITY TOWARD THE PLO.

4. ROMANIAN-SOVIET-CHINESE RELATIONS. THERE WERE FRANK EXCHANGES WITH CEAUSESCU DURING HIS PREVIOUS VISITS TO THE US WITH REGARD TO ROMANIA'S VIEW OF SOVIET AND CHINESE POLICIES, AND RAISING THIS TOPIC WITH CEAUSESCU COULD SHED SOME LIGHT ON SIGNS OF INCREASED SOVIET PRESSURE FOR CEMA INTEGRATION IDEOLOGICAL CONFORMITY, AND WARSAW PACT COORDINATION.

5. CSCE. CEAUSESCU WILL PARTICULARLY URGE STILL MORE FORTHCOMING US ATTITUDE ON CSCE FOLLOW-UP (WHICH ROMANIA HOPES TO USE TO RESTRAIN SOVIET BREZHNEV DOCTRINE LIKE ACTS). ROMANIA IS STILL CONCERNED THAT IN CSCE'S FINAL CRUNCH, HER INDEPENDENT POLITICAL AND SECURITY INTERESTS WILL BE TRAMPLED BY RUSH OF COMPROMISES BETWEEN US AND USSR. WE SHOULD STRESS AGAIN US SUPPORT HITHERTO FOR MANY ROMANIAN POSITIONS AND CONTINUED EFFORTS TO MEET AT LEAST SOME ROMANIAN CONCERNS.

6. POST-VIETNAM US STRATEGY. CEAUSESCU WILL PROBE US INTENTIONS AND CONFIDENCE IN AFTERMATH OF SE ASIA EVENTS. HAVING JUST STAGED A ROUSING WELCOME FOR KIM IL SUNG, IN WHO HE SEES SOMETHING OF AN ASIAN CEAUSESCU, HE MAY WELL WANT TO DISCUSS KOREAN PROBLEM. CEAUSESCU, WHO OPPOSES BLOCS AND WANTS BOTH NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT TO DISAPPEAR AS FAST AS POSSIBLE, WILL NOT RPT NOT LISTEN WITH RAPTURE TO ANY REAFFIRMATION OF OUR ATLANTIC (NATO) COMMITMENTS. HE WILL WANT TO LEARN HOWEVER, OUR ASSESSMENT OF DETENTE, AND OUR VIEW OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS, IN WHICH CONTEXT HE WILL WANT TO HEAR AGAIN REAFFIRMATION THAT DETENTE WILL NEVER BE AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHER

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COUNTRIES, THAT WE FAVOR INDEPENDENCE IN EASTERN EUROPE, OPPOSE SPHERES OF INFLUENCE AND THAT WE WILL DEAL WITH SMALLER SIZED COUNTRIES ON A DIRECT AND MUTUALLY-ADVANTAGEOUS BASIS.

7. DEVELOPING/DEVELOPED COUNTRY RELATIONS. CEAUSESCU HAS MADE A BID FOR ROMANIAN OBSERVER STATUS AT NON-ALIGNED MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS IN LIMA THIS AUGUST, WHILE INCREASINGLY SEEKING IDENTIFICATION WITH NON-ALIGNED CAUSES AND STILL WIDER

RECOGNITION FOR ROMANIA AS A "DEVELOPING" COUNTRY. THROUGH THIS APPROACH HE WANTS ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES AND POLITICAL SUPPORT AGAINST THE SOVIETS. THIS IS EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT EMERGING U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE THIRD WORLD, THE NON-ALIGNED CAMP, IN THE LIGHT OF ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS CRISIS. US WILLINGNESS TO SEEK DIALOGUE, EQUALITY UNDER LAW FOR ALL STATES REGARDLESS OF THEIR SIZE OR ECONOMIC POSITION, AND OUR FLEXIBILITY AND HOPE FOR CONSTRUCTIVE ACCOMODATION WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SHOULD NATURALLY BE STRESSED. CEAUSESCU ALREADY APPRECIATES OUR WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE GENERALIZED PREFERENCES FOR ROMANIA AFTER MFN, BUT WILL LOOK FOR OTHER SIGNS OF US FLEXIBILITY AND ARGUE FOR MORE HELP FOR POOR COUNTRIES BY RICHER ONES. IN THIS COCZEXT, DESPITE OUR EARLIER NEGATIVE REPLIES, HE MAY RAISE AGAIN HIS FAVORITE IDEA OF A LARGE CREDIT AT LOW INTEREST RATES.

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